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Beyond civil rights

It's not polite to say so, especially on the anniversary of the great 1963 march on Washington, but the cause of civil rights is in trouble.

Much of this is due to forces over which civil rights activists have little control, such as the rightward drift of both of America's major political parties and a growing culture of meanness exacerbated by the country's economic problems.

Yet the advocates of thirty years ago faced even worst obstacles and still managed to raise an exceptionally powerful, focussed, and moral voice on behalf of human justice. Today, instead, we find civil rights laws increasingly immeshed in arcane legalisms, civil rights politics transferred from the street and the pulpit to the courtroom and the attorneys' office, a growing if often needless conflict between civil rights and those of free speech, a persistence of deep segregation in places ranging from central cities to Ivy League campuses, administrative excesses by university officials in the name of diversity proclaimed but unachieved, a failure to even discuss serious discrimination in some of its more virulent forms, and a sense that the one true commonality flourishing among Americans is that they all feel they're being screwed.

We can change this, and in so doing revive the fight for human justice, but not without reexamining and rearranging some assumptions. For multiculturalism to work, for example, there have to be people working for it. Yet for all the talk, the constituency for multiculturalism is surprisingly small. What does exist is an enormous, diverse and growing constituency for implacable mono-culturalisms. Yugoslavia on the installment plan.

Relying on the law as our defense, preferring litigation to negotiation, indifferent to the intercultual relations we claim to want, unskilled and apathetic in dealing with the practicalities of diversity, and stymied by mutual self-righteousness, multiculturalism may turn out to be far less pleasant condition than many of its advocates imagine, a place not of peace and justice but only of more hate, violence and litigation.

To change this, we need a new dream and a new plan. What follows is neither, only some notes that might help along the way:

• **Rediscover the moral voice:** Somewhere between Martin Luther King and Marion Barry the voice of the civil rights movement lost its moral edge. Ministers, educators and writers took the back seat to ethnic politicians whose agendas and visions were often quite limited.

This is not irreversible, especially if ethnic leaders move from representing their own constituency to applying the humanistic and moral wisdom of their cause to all of America. As the negative ratings of both Clinton and Perot suggest, even majority America is getting tired of false prophets. It is ready for those who can speak the truth and show it a way out.

• **Don't just say no.** We have attempted to exorcise racism much as Nancy Reagan tried to get rid of drugs, by just saying no. It has worked about as well. Opponents to the war on drugs have argued that a more reasonable goal is to mitigate the harm that drugs do to society. Much the same could be said about racism and prejudice. If humans were truly moral the concept of race wouldn't even exist. It has no biological, and only a limited taxonomic, justification, serving largely as an excuse for one group of humans to do harm to another. In fact, our desire to separate ourselves from those unlike us is much deeper than we are willing to admit. As Ruth Benedict wrote:

All primitive tribes agree in recognizing [a] category of the outsiders, those who are not only outside the provisions of the moral code which holds within the limits of one's own people, but who are summarily denied a place anywhere in the human scheme. A great number of the tribal names in common use, Zuñi, Déné, Kiowa. . . are only their native terms for 'the human beings,' that is,

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themselves. Outside of the closed group there are no human beings. And this is in spite of the fact that from an objective point of view each tribe is surrounded by peoples sharing in its arts and material inventions, in elaborate practices that have grown up by a mutual give-and-take of behaviors from one people to another. . . We are not likely to clear ourselves easily of so fundamental a human trait.

Once we accept the unpleasant persistence of human discrimination, once we give up the notion that it is merely social deviance controllable by sanctions, we will be guided away from a priggish and puritanical corrective approach towards one that emphasizes techniques of mitigating harm, towards what Andrew Young has called a "sense of no fault justice" and towards emphasizing countervailing human qualities that can serve as antibiotics against prejudice.

• **Diversity also means people you don't like.** Progressives don't talk about this but a truly multicultural community might include a representative sample of born-again Christians opposed to abortion, Muslims with highly restrictive views on the role of women, prayer-sayers and atheists, Playboy readers and feminists. Is there a litmus test for entry into the multicultural community? If there is, who gets to decide? Does this make them more equal then others?

• **Don't sweat the small stuff.** Common sense is a great civil rights tool. Even in a multicultural society, loutish sophomores are going to use tasteless language, fundamentalists will sneak in private prayers on public occasions, and eight-year-old boys will grab girls where they shouldn't. Hyper-reaction to such minor phenomena hurt and trivialize the cause of human justice

• **Go for the important stuff.** One of the reasons such matters as the aforementioned get such big play is because of the lack of a clearly articulated and meaningful civil rights agenda. People wouldn't be talking about the use of the term *water buffalo* if, for example, there was a serious assault underway against housing, transportation or zoning discrimination.

• **Lighten up on the lawyers.** While of inestimable assistance in securing basic rights, lawyers are not well equipped to deal with complex relationship between ethnic groups. We need to train large numbers of mediators who can serve as the peacekeepers of multiculturalism.

• **Get the universities to lighten up:** The main achievement of some of our universities appears to have been to convince a generation of students that the protection of their feelings is the moral equivalent of the First Amendment. We could use a moratorium on abridgements of free speech by campus officials, during which time these institutions might usefully increase the number of minorities on their faculty and in their administrations.

• **Find political solutions.** One of the clearest manifestations of justice is equitable political power. This is what Lani Guinier was trying to say before she was so rudely interrupted. Some form of proportional representation -- Bill Clinton notwithstanding -- is not only democratic but is essential for a well-functioning multcultural community.

Attack economic discrimination: After every ethnic group and gender gets its rights the powerful among them

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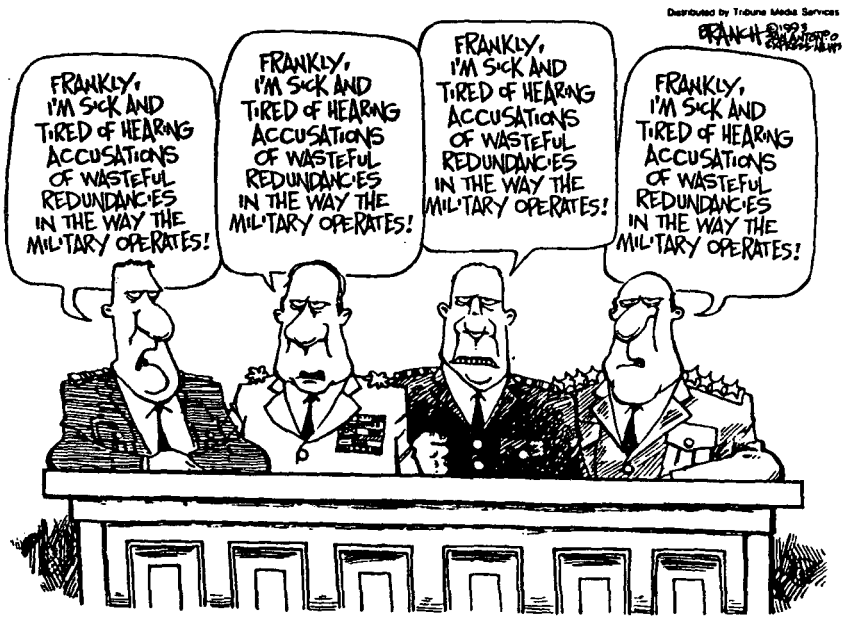
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will discriminate against the weak and the wealthy against the poor. Ethnic and gender discrimination currently get far more attention than economic prejudice. A better balance would help.

• **Stop worrying so much about language.** At worst it provides a warning of problems and at best serves as an intercultural safety valve. Paul Kuritz, in an article on ethnic humor in the *Maine Progressive*, points out that "as early as 1907, the English-speaking rabbis and priest of Cleveland united to protest the stage Irish and Jewish comedians. . . . The suppression of crude ethnic humor both accompanied the economic exploitation of the lower-class work force, and paralleled the dismissal of the lower classes' tastes as 'offensive' to the newly refined sensibilities of upwardly-mobile second and third generation Americans."

Kuritz, a third-generation Slovak, was arguing that the problem with a recently fired French-Canadian radio host was not that he made fun of his own culture but that the full panoply of Maine's ethnicity was not also represented on the air. This would have allowed all these groups to experience what anthropologists call a "joking relationship," a bonding that helps to reduce tensions between potentially antagonistic clans. Said Kuritz, "As a general rule of thumb, an attempt to suppress speech as 'offensive' or 'disempowering' is not a signal to lessen the amount of talk, but to increase the amount."

He cited his own experience with Italian schoolmates joking about his Slovak background. He responded with Italian jokes. One of two things happened. Those classmates who felt "disempowered" shoved his face in a snowbank; the others increased their joking. Said Kuritz, "My best friends came from the second group."

• **Learn from multiculturalism that works.** Ethnic restaurants are perhaps the most successful practitioners of *multiculturalism in America. Why is it so hard for* universities to deal with multicultural issues while the Arab carry-out across from my office offers a "kosher hoagie?" It is, in part, because most of us are like Bismarck who said when offered German champagne that his patriotism stopped at his stomach. It is also that the ethnic restaurant offers a fair intercultural deal: a good living for the owner in return for good food for the patrons.

For multiculturalism to work, we need a willing suspension of our politics as well as places where we can participate in another culture that will leave us feeling that something good has happened. Outside of restaurants, this is rarely available in America. We are not taught the pleasures of diversity, only its problems and burdens. We are seldom invited to enjoy other cultures, only to be sensitive towards, or to feel sorry for, them. Thus, inevitably, we tend to think of multiculturalism in terms of conflict and crisis.

The restaurant analogy is not trivial. Political scientist Milton L. Rakove, writing on the Daley machine, credits Irish dominance in Chicago partially to the fact that the Irish ran saloons that "became centers of social and political activity not only for the Irish but also for the Polish, Lithuanian, Bohemian and Italian immigrants. . . As a consequence of their control of these recreational centers of the neighborhoods, the Irish saloon keepers and bartenders became the political counselors of their customers, and the political bosses of the wards and, eventually, of the city." As one politician put it, "A Lithuanian won't vote for a Pole, and a Pole won't vote for a Lithuanian. A German won't vote for either of them -- but all three will vote for an Irishman."

• **Teach multiculturalism as a gift, not a problem.** Education is the one thing that we know reduces prejudice. Teach the variety of the world as something to explore and enjoy. We can't have a multicultural society that works unless the multiple cultures have reason to appreciate one another. At present we treat multiculturalism like some overbearing parent saying to her toddler, "Now go make friends with that nice Nancy.' It didn't work when we were six and it's not working much better now.

• **Recognize our interdependence and deal with it.** Despite one's individual culture, it is virtually impossible to live in America and not be interdependent with other ethnic groups. We are not unlike the Bedouins who rely on settled Arabs for trade, their culture partially defined by others. Anthropologist A. E. Kroeber called the Bedouins a half culture or part culture, which is not a bad way of thinking of ourselves. This concept places us nearer to where we actually are than where we sometimes say we are: neither separate nations nor integrated into one, but constantly intersecting. If we can develop a model for

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successful and equitable interdependence it will help us solve the puzzle of how one maintains one's ethnic integrity in a polyglot society. And then multiculturalism could start to be fun. -- *Sam Smith*

The CCC: a job stimulus that worked

Barbara S. Kraft

President Clinton and Congress need look no further than the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps to find a federal government program that gave hope, dignity and work to millions of unemployed young and their families as it helped to preserve the beauty and usefulness of our public lands. The CCC lasted nine years, and might have gone on forever had not World War II intervened.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932, 30 percent of the nation's youth were out of work, ineligible to receive the limited public and private aid available to their elders. Our national parks and forests and farmlands, after a century of abuse by timber interests and farmers, needed reforestation and restoration.

On March 21, 1933 FDR asked Congress to authorize his unemployment relief program, which offered temporary jobs to the unemployed, and on April 5, he signed the executive order creating his first and favorite relief program, the Civilian Conservation Corps. By July 4, 275,000 men were working in more than 1,450 camps across the country.

Instead of setting up a new federal bureaucracy, FDR designated four cabinet departments to run the CCC. The Labor's state and local relief agency offices selected the enrollees. The army, the only institution capable of dealing with large numbers of men, ran the camps. Work project leaders from agencies such as Interior's Forest Service and Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service designed the work projects, planned assignments and supervised the men on the sites. To allay labor's protest that the "3 Cs" would take jobs from union members because at low $1-a-day wages, FDR appointed Robert Fechner, vice president of the Association of International Machinists, as executive director of the corps and head of its advisory council.

Eligibility was initially geared to unemployed, unskilled, single young men, 18 to 25, whose families were on relief. They signed for a six-month tour, with a maximum of two years' service. Enlistees agreed to have $25 of their $30 monthly salaries sent home, freeing their parents from government support. Enrollees took a two-week physical conditioning course at an army camp before being assigned to a permanent camp near their woodland worksite.

Veterans, serving only in military camps, comprised ten percent of the total CCC enrollment. Similarly, 14,000 Indians served on their reservations and 4,000 young adults from the territories worked on local projects. Because of local protest, most of the 200,000 blacks served in "colored" companies in their home states, despite the CCC's antidiscrimination policy. Only when there were too few blacks to form a separate camp were the races mixed. And the obvious absence of women enrollees caused critics to wonder "Where was the 'She-She-She'"?

Realizing that local communities would want their share of the employment pie, the CCC hired local experienced men (LEMs), such as carpenters and mechanics, to teach the novice outdoorsmen.

In time, the average camp had 24 buildings, including 4 barracks housing 200 men, a schoolhouse, a canteen and workshops. Each camp was run by an army officer and staffed with an education adviser, project superintendent and CCCers in lesser positions.

The recruit's day -- broken into three equal time periods for work, sleep, and study and recreation -- allowed plenty of time for sports, hobby clubs, and social activities in camp and in the nearby towns. In addition to on-the-job training, many took advantage of camp educational programs, workshops, cooking and office facilities, gaining skills that won them jobs later. Local colleges and vocational schools accepted CCCers in their night schools and extension and correspondence courses. Nearly 65,000 illiterate enrollees learned to read and write.

The breadth and volume of CCC work is so immense it beggars belief. It included: 2 billion trees planted, 931 million acres stocked with fish, 5 million soil erosion dams, 52,000 public campgrounds, 123,000 miles of road, more than 6 million man-days spent fighting fires, and an area the size of Ohio, Iowa and Indiana drained and restored to farmland. Among its other tasks, the CCC protected grazing land, drained mosquito-infested marshes, preserved wildlife habitats, battled crop disease, cleared forest for increased growth and built firebreaks, preserved historic sites, and built hiking trails in the national parks and forests. Often the enlistees responded to natural disasters and emergencies, sometimes at peril to their lives.

The Civilian Conservation Corps, its usefulness recognized by everyone, was the happy symbiotic conjunction of two wasted resources: young people and the land. Raymond Gram Swing, writing in *The Nation* in 1935, called it "a happy accident, a relief project with a wide ramification of benefits and no ill effects." The towns and villages both near the camps and in the boys' home areas enjoyed a tremendous economic revival. The army favored the corps as it kept its officers and camps occupied. Manufacturers and suppliers sold the government

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Score the Clinton health plan

		Checklist
UNIVERSALITY	Breaks the link between employment and insurance	
	Provides benefits regardless of income, health or employment status, age or location	
	Covers everyone equally	
COVERAGE	Covers all necessary services -- long term, preventive, mental health, drugs	
	Patients and providers decide what services are medically needed -- not insurance companies.	
FREEDOM OF CHOICE	Permits everyone to choose own providers without extra fees	
	Eliminates employer control over health plans that restrict access.	
	Provides service in currently underserved urban and rural areas	
AFFORDABILITY	Financed based on ability to pay	
	Eliminates copayments and deductibles	
	Elminates waste, unnecessary care & duplicative technology	
RESPONSIVENESS	Administered by a non-profit public entity	
	Guarantees role for consumers and providers in decisions	
	Responsive to individual patients' needs	

Adapted from 'Five Principals for Health Care Reform," by the United Cerebral Palsy Associations and endorsed by organizations supporting single-payer legislation.

clothing and trucks and other equipment worth millions of dollars. At a total cost of $3 billion, the CCC was a bargain for the government and the country.

A Chicago judge said youth crime had been cut in half by the absence of jobless city kids. Congressmen, hungry for economic and social benefits in their districts, pleaded for new camps, and gave the agency new life every two years.

The CCC was not without criticism and problems, of course, especially in the beginning. Youngsters, not accustomed to obeying orders, got into fights or went AWOL. Some townspeople were not enchanted by what they considered rough, tough riffraff from sin-ridden cities attending their Saturday night dances, and thought the CCCers were nothing more than lazy louts living off the government.

At its peak in 1935-36, with 500,000 enrollees and about 100,000 staff in 2,514 camps, FDR and others wanted to make the CCC permanent. But as the economy recovered and federal funds were diverted from peace activity it became a war casualty on June 30, 1942. Nearly 3 million young men and 250,000 veterans had served their country as they served themselves and families.

There isn't a state or territory that hasn't benefited from the CCC's work. The young men learned to do a job, take orders, work with others, care for equipment and earn money for their families. For many, what they gained from the CCC significantly affected their future lives. Ollie Sokolski, of Missoula, Montana said, "if it wasn't for that break getting into that [finance] office and the training I was able to get, I don't know how I would have ended up because I was just a punk kid with no education. I was only 16 years old and could have gone in any direction." Owen W. Davis, former District of Columbia Deputy Chief of Police, called the CCC "a godsend for minorities," adding that his two and half years in the corps were the "most wonderful, informative years" in his life, which he wouldn't have traded for four years in college. Angelo Petro, of Upper Marlboro, Maryland, invites queries--and proselytizing--by walking around Washington with a sign on his briefcase announcing "I was a CCC boy." I received more than one hundred responses to a letter published in the National Association of CCC Alumni *Journal,* all of them eager to report, as William Moore of Hemet, California did, that the CCC "afforded me an opportunity for a meaningful job and a marvelous start in

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my life. Many spoke of the career and personal guidance they received from the LEMs and education officers. Byron Borne of Greenville, Ohio said the corps "was truly a melting pot of Polish and Italians of the city, Irish and Germans from the farms, blacks, mountaineers, rowdies, innocents and all others." Frank Willet, Sr., of Oak Grove, Kentucky said "that a similar program, geared to today's society, certainly would be beneficial in fighting crime, the homeless and the economy. President Roosevelt's Tree Army did it and there is no reason why it cannot be done again."

It can't be done again exactly, nor should it. The state of the nation is scarcely as drastic as it was in the 1930s, but we do face large numbers of workers with obsolete skills, young people not headed for college who need training, gangs, guns and inadequate alternatives to welfare. In the story of the Civilian Conservation Corps can be found both ideas and hope.

Barbara S. Kraft is an historian currently writing a biography of Jane Addams and editing the hearings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

WEATHER REPORT

Cities

After years of ignoring, over-regulating and evicting small business, big city politicians and planners may finally be discovering the error of their ways. In a front-page story the *New York Times* reported that "After decades of counting on big business and local government to create jobs, New York City must now look mainly to small companies to rebuild its decimated jobs base and thus must make it easier for them to operate, political leaders, economists and urban planners say." Said the *Times*, "This consensus includes not only Mayor David N. Dinkens and his prospective challengers in this year's mayoral race but also City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman and Felix G. Rohatyn, the investment banker who is chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation."

Loose change

The *Left Business Observer* points out that while Clinton sought less than a half-billion dollars for a network of over 100 community development banks, he sought over $4 billion for federal enterprise zones, "a strategy out of the Reagan-Kemp playbook that offers special tax breaks to businesses locating in certified poverty areas." Meanwhile, noted *LBO,* the fact that south central LA is in the midst of a state-certified enterprise zone "isn't a happy precedent for a federal program."

Here's something to keep in mind when Clinton talks about the complexity of America's economic situation. In the summer of 1933, FDR's aide Harry Hopkins told the president that about four million jobs would be needed to get America through the bleak winter ahead. Hopkins pledged to do the job in four weeks. He failed. Only 2.8 million workers were hired in four weeks. Hopkins did, however, reach the four million goal by mid-January.

The mediacracy

NBC News has hired former Pentagon propaganda chief Peter Williams as a national correspondent. Wrote *Newsday's* Marvin Kitman: "Williams was one of the architects of the most reprehensible press censorship policies we've ever had . . . Williams broke new ground in disinformation, Orwellian double-talk and obfuscations like 'some collateral damage,' meaning wiping out thousands of civilians. . .The oddest thing is that nobody batted and eyelash at the hiring announcement . . . nobody protests, or even cares. The barbarians are in the gate, for Pete's sake."

Land of the free

The federal government is currently seizing nearly $2 billion worth of private property annually under civil forfeiture laws without due process. The long list of abuses -- most prominent in drug cases -- is finally attracting some national attention. The *New York Times* reported:

"Prosecutors acknowledge that in tens of thousands of cases property is taken from individuals who are never charged or convicted of crimes."

For example, last year the federal government seized 17,000 cars from people suspected of smuggling illegal immigrants.

The forfeiture program is also a source of ready cash for the government. The *Times* uncovered a 1990 memo from Attorney General Dick Thornburgh in which he urged federal prosecutors to step up their forfeiture efforts:

"Failure to achieve the $470 million projection would expose the department's forfeiture program to criticism and undermine confidence in our budget projections. Every effort must be made to increase forfeiture income during the remaining three months."

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Just politics

Just as the Soviets tolerated free thought only within the limits of "socialist dialogue," similar limits on imagination exists in Washington. Ideas that adjust or advance the conventional wisdom are valued. Those that challenge it are ignored or treated with contempt.

This was dramatically illustrated during the controversy over Clinton's nomination of Lani Guinier to be assistant attorney general for civil rights. Guinier had written a number of law review articles that challenged conventional voting rights enforcement efforts. Her grounds were solid; after all the traditional tactic of creating minority legislative districts amounts to a revival of the separate but equal philosophy that brought on the civil rights movement in the first place.

She suggested a number of remedies including a form of proportional representation, the use of super majorities (such as the Senate uses to end filibusters) and the rotation of legislative offices. While these suggestions are certainly debatable, they were hardly radical, having provenances ranging from the practices of other western democracies to the those -- in at least 32 instances -- of the Reagan and Bush administrations. As an Ashtabula, Ohio, newspaper said in 1915 after that town's first election conducted by proportional representation: "The drys and the wets are represented, the Protestants and the Catholics; the business, professional, and laboring men, the Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists; the English, Swedes and Italians are represented. It would be hard to select a more representative council in any other way."

This democratic core of PR, however, was ignored not only by white southern members of Congress (those most personally threatened by Guinier's proposals) but by much of the media and by the president himself, who made the patently false claim that her ideas were not only "inappropriate" (the standard Washington brush-off) but also "anti-democratic."

Ms. Guinier's crime was to apply logic and intelligence to a demonstrable problem and report on where these had led her. To some this is called thought; in Washington it makes people nervous.

As Harvard Law professor Randall Kennedy said:

"I think this is one of the most vivid examples of the dumbing down of American politics I've ever seen. [Guinier] asked very tough questions about our democracy."

The David Gergen appointment provided a smorgasbord of Clintonian symbolic manipulation at work:

First, Clinton said that he had been concerned that "some of the things which are now very much in the news has given to the Administration a tinge that is too partisan and not connected to the mainstream, pro-change, future-oriented policies that I ran for president to implement." Until recently one was either mainstream or pro-change. A post-modern president attempts to be both.

Second, Clinton declared the appointment signaled that "we are rising above politics." "We are," he insisted, "going beyond partisanship that damaged this country so badly in the last several years to search for new ideas, a new common ground, a new national unity."

Clinton's idea of non-partisanship tends to consist of someone agreeing to his point of view. Besides, as Harry Truman said, "Whenever a fellow tells me he is bipartisan, I know he is going to vote against me."

Clinton, incidentally, is not alone in seeking an end to controversy. The day after the Gergen appointment was announced, a book review by Blackstone Group senior advisor Jeffrey E. Garten declared, "As several new books show, the coherence of our economic policy debates is further clouded by a cacophony of voices arguing from different perspectives." Presumably a coherent economic policy debate is one without argument.

Third, the underlying premise of Clinton's action was not that there was any fault in his policy or procedures, but only in communications. "Failure of communications" has become the great post-modern alibi.

Finally, a number of press stories emphasized Clinton's desire to turn towards the center and away from the left, a message dropped by Clintonistas on a media already so acculturated to Clintspeak that it forgot that the president of whom they were writing was the most conservative Democrat to be elected to the White House in modern memory. Abortion and gays excepted, Clinton's policies in the first five months had been anything but traditionally liberal or left, but rather in the high mugwump style of the extremist middle.

One of the few to take umbrage at this verbal sleight of hand was George McGovern, who protested in the *Washington Post* the tendency of columnists to link Clinton not only with leftism but to "McGovernism." While McGovern said he supported Clinton, he listed a number of ways in which the president failed as a McGovernite:

- McGovern supports a fifty percent cut in the defense budget over the next three years. Clinton doesn't. McGovern pointed out that we managed to cut our military by 90 percent following World War II without damage to the economy.
- McGovern would end the boycott against Cuba. Clinton wouldn't.
- McGovern favors single-payer health insurance. Clinton doesn't.
- McGovern would end the US subsidy of both sides in the Middle East disputes unless they reached a settlement of their differences. Half our foreign aid goes to Israel and Egypt. Clinton appears satisfied with our traditional approach.

There had been reason to hope that with the election of Clinton we could go back to ministers preaching the gospel and politicians laying down the party line rather than vice versa. This expectation, however, has been thrown into doubt by Ms. Clinton's recent meditations on

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the "politics of meaning," a soupy series of inquiries into various philosophical matters many of us first encountered in late high school or early college. While we're glad that Ms. Clinton has gotten around to wrestling with these concerns, she should not assume that the torment of the reformed yuppie lawyer-politician can be extrapolated into a nationwide phenomena. As Charles Krauthammer noted, 94 percent of all Americans believe in God and nearly half go regularly to church. Most Americans have not felt a "spiritual vacuum" in recent years so much as a political one. This is the vacuum that politicians like HR Clinton might more usefully address.

> "There will be some job loss as a result of cuts in military spending. But what is the alternative? Are we to keep on spending into perpetuity for military purposes? Are we going to continue to raise the deficit, continue to borrow money to build fighter planes and tanks and aircraft carriers that produce nothing in themselves? Are we going to continue to pay vast sums of money to employ large military formations that simply are not needed? It appears to me that is the ultimate in waste."
>
> **Senator Jim Sasser**
> Chairman, Senate Budget Committee
> March 17, 1993

Scripps-Howard's Thomas Elias reports that the movement to split California into several states is popping up again. When a two-way split was proposed last year, northern Californians in 27 of 31 counties that considered the matter, approved the idea in an advisory referendum. San Francisco and San Mateo, however, rejected it.

A revised plan would create three new states, with San Francisco no longer lumped with LA. State assembly speaker Willie Brown and Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy have both expressed support for the idea.

The *New York Times* used the Italian elections for a disinformation campaign on proportional representation, essentially blaming Italian corruption on PR . Replying to the editorial, Matthew Cossolotto, president of Citizens for Proportional Representation[1], noted that "some form of proportional representation and non-Communist coalition have been part of virtually every other democracy in Europe without similar corruption." Cossolotto reminded the *Times* that New York City used PR in city council elections between 1937 and 1947 and the system broke up the corrupt party machines of the day.

Responding to similar disinformation about PR in the *Washington Post,* former presidential candidate John Anderson wrote, "Even as we lament low voter turnout, shallow political campaigns, incumbents' high rate of re-election, pork barrel politics, gerrymandering, under-representation of women and racial minorities, timid government and the like, we never discuss how these problems might relate to the plurality voting system we use at all levels of government."

Drug busts

The Journal of the American Medical Association reports that some experts believe the prosecution of the war on drugs may be responsible for the resurgence of tuberculosis. High incarceration rates have created prison overcrowding with inmates who have both HIV and TB. Nearly all go back into the community thus creating conditions for greatly spreading disease.

Several researchers told a conference on youth and young adult violence at Duke University that alcohol was the one drug for which there is a clear correlation with violence. Said Yale professor Albert J. Reiss Jr., "Aggression is not linked to marijuana, not to heroin, and if it's linked to crack cocaine, there's not much evidence. In all the studies -- from rats to lawyers -- alcohol is the only thing you can find linked to violence.'"

Stephen Rodrick in the *New Republic* reports that it's not just illegal nannies that's keeping some prospective Clinton nominees from being appointed. The zero tolerance drug policy has also lead to job denials of qualified applicants.

Furthermore. . .

EFFECTIVE RESUME WRITING: In his May 24 column David Gergen wrote that Bill Clinton is "one of the most gifted, dedicated men ever to serve in the Oval Office."

FEEDBACK

Dr. Joyce Chumbley of Orlando FL is upset:

When I saw you on C-SPAN several months ago, I thought you were not only progressive but open-minded

[1] Citizens for Proportional Representation -- upon whose advisory board your editor sits -- has just been renamed the Center for Voting and Democracy

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and less judgmental than most journalists. I subscribed right away to your publication. For the past few months, however, I have been extremely disappointed in the predominantly negative view you take on current issues and events.

Especially objectionable to me is the constant Clinton bashing in every issue of the *Review*. To listen to you, we shouldn't encourage and support our most progressive president in at least 12 years; we ought to lynch him!

The Clinton Report Card is particularly annoying because it is so glib and superficial. One small example in the current issue: Clinton gets a bad grade for Bosnia and another bad grade on the intelligence budget. So, are you suggesting we ought to take "action" in Bosnia but settle for mediocre intelligence with which to carry out the operation? In my view, you ought to eliminate altogether this carping feature in your publication.

You and other members of the media (with a 17% approval rating!) seem to be suggesting that Clinton ought to be a miracle worker--totally able to change the policies of the last 12 years, change the hearts and minds of the Republicans, and accomplish everything yesterday on the progressive agenda. Have you been listening to the Republicans lately or to the belly-achers who call the talk shows?

It's a wonder Clinton is getting anything done at all.

By the way, I am genuinely sorry that you are ill and I hope that you will be healed soon. Sometimes it takes an illness for us to make some necessary changes in our lives. A healing change for you might be a more positive attitude.

Actually, according to my surgeon, I spent much of the operation ranting against the sins of the Clinton administration, so much so that he asked the anesthesiologist to give me some gas to shut me up.

As I recover, however, I find my disposition totally unimproved. What's more it seems a large number of Americans now feel much the same way. You will, however, be happy to note that the Clinton Report Card has disappeared. It took a lot of work, and Clinton failed to provide enough positive surprises to make the exercise worthwhile.

THE IDEA MILL

Transportation

Dave Galt of the Connecticut Fund for the Environment is developing a detailed analysis of the subsidies and costs involved in driving a car. His initial estimate of costs is 57 cents per mile. Some of his interesting commutations include a congestion cost of 6.8 cents per mile (based on a GAO study), and military costs related to protecting oil interests (1.7 cents per mile). *D. Galt, 203-787-0646*

Shorter work-week

Interest is growing in the shorter work-week issue as it becomes increasingly apparent that the nation's economic troubles are far more than a cyclical matter. As Juliet Schor, author of *The Overworked American*, wrote the Clinton administration earlier this year, an economic agenda must "incorporate work time policies, because (1) giving people more time is necessary to improving the quality of their 'economic' lives and (2) permanent progress on unemployment may not be possible without changes in work time. In particular, the productivity-enhancing aspects of the proposed Clinton-Gore economic program may lead to *more* unemployment if there is no mechanism to reduce working hours." Other books on this important subject include *Work Without End* by Benjamin Hunnicutt and *Non-Financial Economics* by Eugene McCarthy and William McGaughey. Among the groups active in this area is Women for Economic Justice, 179 South Street (7th floor), Boston MA 02111.

Mediation

The National Institute for Dispute Resolution has recently opened its 12th state office of mediation. The Texas project, the most ambitious to date, will provide assistance to the courts and government agencies in design and running dispute resolution programs. It will also offer training and assistance in settling public policy disputes. *NIDR, 1901 L St. NW, #600, Washington DC 20036. 202-466-4764.*

ROADSIGNS

Crime

Homicide rate for Japanese in Japan: 1 per 100,000
Homicide rate for Japanese nationals in US: 5 per 100,000

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Drugs

Percent of company drug tests in Maine revealing drug use: 4%

Percent of tests revealing drug use other than pot: 0.5%

Economics

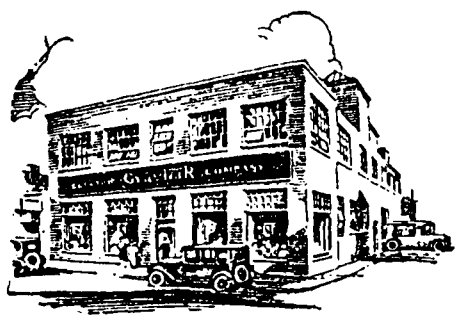
Unemployment among teenagers in NYC in first three months of this year. 40%.

Foreign

Number of Angolans dying each day in the war there: 1000

SOURCES

CRIME: Foreign Ministry of Japan DRUGS *Maine Times* ECONOMICS; *New York Times* FOREIGN: UN special representative on Angola Margaret Anstee



FIELD NOTES

READING

Kids Count Data Book: State by state report card of the well-being of children. We listed this in the last issue but failed to say that it is available through the Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1250 Eye NW #503, DC 20005; 202-371-1565

GATHERINGS

Summer Institute on Political Economy: Aug 8-14 at the Center for Popular Economics. Also offered: an International Institute on Economics, same dates. No background in economics necessary. Fees run $475-675. Some scholarship funds. Childcare. *CPE, PO Box 785, Amherst MA 01004. 413-545-0743.*

GROUPS

Citizens for Proportional Representation is now the Center for Voting and Democracy. *CVD, 6905 5th Street NW #200, DC 20012. 202-882-7378*

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